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THE PRESENT INFLUENCE AND CONDUCT OF *GREAT-BRITAIN*

IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED

In a LETTER from a Foreign Minister at the *Hague*, residing at the Court of *London*

Faithfully translated from the Original *French*.

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THE TRANSLATOR TO THE PUBLICK.

THE Original following Letter was communi... to me by the noble Foreigner himself, to whom it was written; nor was it without much Sollicitation, that I had his Leave for putting it into an Engliſh *Dreſs, on a Promiſe of concealing his Name, and leaving out ſome Paragraphs which regarded himſelf perſonally, and the Potentate whom he repreſents. The Requeſt was too reaſonable to be refuſed, tho' I could wiſh it had not been inſiſted upon, becauſe thoſe Paſſages I was obliged to ſtifle, were not the leaſt curious and inſtructive of the whole Compoſition: But even mutilated as it is here, I cannot but think that it will be reliſhed by every* Engliſhman, *who has the Intereſt and Honour of his Country truly at Heart.*

As Foreigners are not biaſſed by Intereſt, nor prejudiced by our Party Animoſities, they may be allowed to inſpect our Conduct more coolly, and conſequently paint it more truly and impartially, than we ourſelves can; and if I am not greatly deceived, every conſiderate Reader will agree with me, that the Picture here drawn of our Conduct, is not only candid and ingenuous, but cool and impartial. This I can aſſure him, that if I had not thought it ſo, I would not have been at the Trouble of uſhering it to the Publick; for I am not, nor ever was, of any Party, but that which means the Good of my Country, independent of all private Views whatſoever; I never would ſtoop to the Servility of making court to any one Set of Men, at the Expence of another. It gave me real Pleaſure to obſerve the Influence of my Country amongſt Foreigners; and I doubt no but every Briton, *who reads theſe Sheets, will exult along with me to find, that the Nations of* Europe *look upon* Britain, *at this Time, as the genuine and only ſolid Support of their Liberties.— The Obſervations of the Writer upon our Trade and Woollen Manufactures, if they are juſt, may be of uſe to thoſe that are better verſed in thoſe Matters than I am; and if they are not, the Publication of them can't be injurious. They have at leaſt the Advantage of Novelty; for I don't remember to have either ſeen or heard the Subject treated in this Manner before.*

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THE PRESENT INFLUENCE AND CONDUCT OF *GREAT-BRITAIN*, &c.

SIR, HAGUE, *April* 30, 1741.

IN congratulating you on the late vigorous Reſolutions of the Court you reſide at, in Favour of her *Hungarian* Majeſty, methinks I congratulate at the ſame time, the Inhabitants of all *Europe*. The late Reſolves of the *Britiſh* Court, as they have a general Tendency, are become the general Concern: And if it be true, that Peace is more eligible than War; and that Man therefore, in true Policy as well as Gratitude, ſhould bleſs the Hand which preſerves to him, or procures him the firſt, how great is the Obligation which all *Europe* owes

to

to that wiſe Counſellor, that virtuous Friend to Mankind, I mean the *Britiſh* Miniſter, who adviſed and ſeconded the glorious Intentions of his Royal Maſter for ſupporting the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria?* We ſhould wrong ourſelves much more than him, did we not on this momentous Occaſion, admit of that great Man's Diſcernment, and gratefully own the general Happineſs likely to reſult from his Politicks.

You can hardly conceive how the Face of Men and Things are changed here ſince the News of theſe Reſolutions has reached us. The *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Bavarian*, *Swediſh*, and *Pruſſian* Miniſters, affect ſuch a ſort of Gaiety as denotes Conſtraint, whilſt all the other Foreign Miniſters, reſiding here, wear ſuch an open chearful Alacrity as ariſes from real Content and Satisfaction: Nor ſhould I hide from you, what may give you infinite Pleaſure, that not only the Commonalty here, but the governing Part alſo, give the livelieſt Indications of being pleas'd with the Conduct on that Side the Water.

This Conduct, Sir, which ſeems founded chiefly on that Policy which directs a Miniſter to have the Intereſt of his own Country principally in View, bids fair for eſtabliſhing general Tranquillity all over *Europe*. It has already viſibly raiſed the drooping Spirits of ſuch of the Natives here as diſponded of ſeeing the gathering Clouds diſperſed without a general War; nor can we ſuppoſe, but the ſame Reaſon will weigh equally with all ſuch other Powers as might have wiſh'd well to Peace and the *Pragmatic Sanction*, but who might have been intimidated by a certain great, dictating Court, which either avowedly or ſecretly interferes in moſt Affairs on the Continent.

I ſay, on the *Continent*, rather than *Europe*, becauſe I ſincerely think, the Court I mean, tho' the moſt

moſt refined and intriguing in the World, has never been able to influence that you reſide at, ſince the Death of Queen *Anne*. I am ſenſible that the contrary has been ſuggeſted; nor do I forget, when I had the Honour to reſide at the Court of *Vienna*, how warmly this Point had been conteſted with me by ſome of the Imperial Miniſters in your Preſence. But let me put you in Mind of what I think you cannot have forgot, that the great and penetrating *Eugene* did me the Honour to enter into my Sentiments, whenever he heard me bore down by Numbers more than Argument.

You may remember that the *Quadruple Alliance* was urged againſt me, as a Treaty which pointed out the Influence of *France* at the *Britiſh* Court, chiefly becauſe of the Stipulation in Favour of *Don Carlos*; but I will never ſuppoſe you can forget Prince *Eugene*'s memorable Words on that Occaſion; they were theſe. "The Treaty of *Utrecht* "was ſo little comprehenſive of the various Intereſt "of the Powers of *Europe* in general, and ſo in-"jurious to that of ſome Particulars, that ſuch an "explanatory Treaty as the *quadruple* was not only "juſt and equitable, but abſolutely neceſſary."— The only Remarks I ſhall make on this ſolid Obſervation of the Prince's, is, that if this Treaty was equitable and neceſſary, that of *Seville*, of which the *Quadruple* was the Baſis, became likewiſe both neceſſary and juſt. And however ſlight ſome Miniſters, and even ſome Princes, may make of Treaties, as they are the moſt ſacred Engagements that can be entered into by Man, they ſhould be obſerved with the greateſt Strictneſs and Punctuality. A ſolemn Treaty between Princes ought to be eſteemed, both from it's Nature and Manner of it's Concluſion, the ſtrongeſt Tie that can be invented. The *Intereſt* as well as *Honour* of Princes

and

and Miniſters makes it neceſſary for them to obſerve ſuch ſolemn Cor[illegible] For they who violate their public Faith loſe the Confidence of their Neighbours, ſink in Reputation, and conſequently are not truſted or befriended on the greateſt Emergencies.

If then the Faith of the King and the Honour of the *Britiſh* Nation were bound, by the *Quadruple Alliance*, to ſecure the eventual Succeſſion of *Tuſcany* to the Infant of *Spain*, can it be poſſibly ſuggeſted that the trifling Variation of *Spaniſh* inſtead of *Neutral* Troops, conceded on the Part of *Great-Britain* by the Treaty of *Seville*, was of ſuch Moment as to occaſion the loud Clamour echoed to us from that Side the Water; can, I ſay, this diminutive Variation be conſtrued to the Prejudice of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry; or thought owing to the Influence of the Court of *Verſailles*? There are Scepticks in Politicks as well as in Religion; and to ſuch we can never hope to be able to give entire Satisfaction. But does it not appear to the unprejudiced, that this Alteration, which was intended only as a further Security for a Succeſſion that had been agreed to by all the principal Powers of *Europe*; is it not apparent, I ſay, that no Prince has been, or could be, injured by it? Either it was, or it was not intended by the contracting Powers, that *Don Carlos* ſhould ſucceed to the Ducal Crown of *Tuſcany*. If it was not, what Epithet ignominious enough ſhall one find for thoſe that ſhould enter into the moſt ſolemn Engagements with an intent to break them? But as it muſt be ſuppoſed that the *Quadruple* Treaty was made with an intent to be kept, I would aſk why it ſhould be objected to the *Britiſh* Miniſtry as a Crime, that they had reconciled their Country, a Trading Country, to the moſt uſeful Nation in the World, by only agreeing

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to ſtrengthen, in the C of *Spain*, a Stipulation that had been ſole nted to by the great Powers of *Europe?*

Upon this Occaſion, you can't forget another Objection made at *Vienna* to the *Britiſh* Miniſter, for not treating firſt with his late Imperial Majeſty. The Frivolouſneſs of this Objection is ſo glaring, that it rather juſtifies than condemns the *Britiſh* Negociators. Priority, in Caſes of this Nature, is never neceſſary; but in that under our preſent Conſideration, it would be ridiculous; it would be impolitick. Peace with *Spain*, as it was the immediate Intereſt of *England*, ought to have been, as it was, the immediate Obj iſh Miniſter's View. He muſt have been in l not to ſee, that the Treaſure of *Spain* was the ief, nay, the ſole Cement of the Alliance betwe n *Spain* and the Court of *Vienna*. Therefore his firſt Care ſhould be to wean *Spain* from a Court that muſt neceſſarily follow her Example, whenever and wherever ſhe ſhould think proper to lead the Way. Beſides, there could be no doubt that the Emperor would agree to a Variation in Favour of *Don Carlos*, to which, in the main, his Imperial Majeſty was tied down by the *Quadruple Alliance*. But there was another Reaſon ſtill more convincing, why the *Britiſh* Miniſter ſhould reckon upon the Emperor's Acceſſion to the Treaty of *Seville*, as a Matter of the moſt moral Certainty, and that is, by *Great-Britain*'s guarantying the *Pragmatic Sanction*; a Guaranty, which, in effect, was no leſs the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, than his Imperial Majeſty. For tho' the inſular Situation of *Great-Britain* ſeems to ſecure her againſt all Attempts from the Continent, yet is ſhe, in many Reſpects, united in Intereſt with other Powers. To ſecure her own Freedom, ſhe is bound to preſerve that of *Europe*; nor is this poſſibly to be done, but by main-

taining the general Ballance of Power. Her natural Intereſt therefore muſt always induce her to watch the Motions of the Powers on the Continent. This Intereſt leads her to a Neceſſity of a conſtant Negociation; and the ſame favourite Intereſt muſt incline her never to violate her Treaties without the moſt abſolute Neceſſity. Upon the whole, Sir, it appears to me now, as it always did, that the Treaty of *Seville* is ſo far from being an Inſtance of *French* Influence on the Councils of *Great-Britain*, that it proves the direct contrary; and that the Miniſter who projected and conducted it, far from meriting Reproach for that Tranſaction, deſerves the higheſt Encomiums: Nay, I will ſay farther, that had he heſitated but for a Month to adviſe that Treaty, he would have been unfaithful to his Country and his Prince.

The having made Mention of the *Quadruple Alliance* naturally leads me to conſider the Treaty of *Seville*, antecedent to that of *Hanover*, which was prior. This Treaty, which was a Counter-Alliance in Oppoſition to the firſt Treaty of *Vienna*, has been repreſented as the ſtrongeſt Inſtance that could be of the Paſſiveneſs of the Court of *London*, and her Subſerviency to that of *France*. For my part, I could never perceive any the leaſt Weight in theſe Suggeſtions; and I call upon you, Sir, to witneſs, that the renowned *Eugene* was all along of my Opinion. He ſaw, as all *Europe* did, that the Alliance of the Courts of *Madrid*, *Vienna*, *Petersburgh*, *Berlin*, and ſome other Courts of *Germany*, was of ſuch a Nature as muſt give Umbrage to the other Powers of *Europe*, and particularly to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. The very Being of *Holland* was ſtruck at by that *Alliance*; the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Orleans* to the Crown of *France*, in Virtue of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was obliquely at leaſt levelled at by it; and the Settlement of the Crown

of

of *Great-Britain*, and her Trade and Poſſeſſions, were ſo manifeſtly endangered by that impolitick Alliance, (pardon me, Sir, for the Expreſſion) that the Court of *London* muſt have been infatuated not to have perceived and guarded againſt the evil Tendency of it.

But what was the Conduct of *Great-Britain* on this momentous Occaſion? In the firſt Place, ſhe applied herſelf to perſuade *Holland* of her imminent Danger, that ſhe might join heartily in warding againſt it. *Holland*, 'tis true, ſaw the Danger; but from a Timidity, but too conſpicuous at that Time in ſome of her principal governing Subjects, there was no perſuading the *States-General* into ſuch vigorous Reſolutions as were neceſſary; nor was it poſſible to incline the *Dutch* to take ſuch Reſolutions, before the Court of *London* gained upon that of *France* to join in leading the Way. Thus, at laſt, by the Weight and Addreſs of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, was the *Hanover* Alliance formed as a Counter-ballance to that of *Vienna*, which directly threatened the Repoſe of *Europe*.

I am conſcious it has been objected, that *Great-Britain* took the Alarm earlier and more ſeriouſly than ſhe need; nor am I inſenſible, that ſpecious Arguments have been drawn from the Conſequences that followed. But, Sir, can any thing be unfairer than arguing from the Conſequences of an *Alliance*, which appears now to the whole World to have been defeated only by the Counter-Alliance of *Hanover*. I have certain Information, that a Set of Men have confederated in order to attack my Houſe, but they drop the iniquitous Project, upon hearing that I am prepared to repel them by Force; therefore, becauſe I was not attack'd, I am to ſuppoſe there was no Intention to injure me. The Application muſt neceſſarily deſtroy all Argument depending upon the Conſequence of the firſt Treaty of

Vienna. The Induſtry and Succeſs of the Court of *Vienna*, in detaching the late King of *Pruſſia* from the Alliance of *Hanover*, amply juſtifies the Dread and Conduct of the Court of *London* at that time.

But ſuppoſing that *Great-Britain* took the Alarm more ſeriouſly than ſhe need, how does it appear that the Treaty of *Hanover* was owing to *French* Influence at the Court of *London?* Now, in my Opinion, the direct contrary appears from all the Circumſtances of the Caſe. The Court of *London*, far from being influenced by *France*, it ſeems to me evident, that both *France* and *Holland* were under the Influence of *Great-Britain*. A Man may make you a Tender of his Friendſhip, he may ſpeak you fair; Words and Profeſſions coſt little. But let that Man open his Purſe to ſerve you; let him back his Words and Profeſſions with Deeds, you are ſure that he is your Friend; you may be ſatisfy'd, that he has your Intereſt at Heart, or at leaſt, that he dreads your Reſentment. Let us then ſee how the Conduct of *France* and *Holland*, on that Occaſion, ſquare with theſe different Examples. I dare ſay, that the Reſearch will turn out to the Advantage of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry.

The *States-General*, in Conſequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, not only were at a great Expence in providing their Magazines, and putting their Barrier and Frontier Towns in a good Poſture of Defence, but augmented their Land Forces from 20,000 to 50,000 Men, and equipp'd a ſtrong Squadron of Ships of War. *France*, at the ſame time, equipp'd a Squadron of twelve Ships of War, augmented her Army to 160,000 Men, beſides her diſciplin'd Militia; and propoſed ſending 12,000 *Swiſs* on the Side of *Flanders*, the Place moſt liable to the Inſults of Imperial Troops, upon Condition that *Great-Britain* would join them with as many *Heſſians*. Now, if the Expence of *Great-Britain*, at

at this critical Conjuncture, be compared with that of *France* and *Holland*, I think it can't be doubted, that if there was any Weight of Influence, it was on the Side of *England*.

If I don't forget, the Augmentation on the Part of *England* was only 8000 Land Forces, and 5000 Seamen; that is, the Land Army in *Great-Britain* was augmented from 18,000 to 26,000, and the Seamen from 15,000 to 20,000, beſides 12,000 *Heſſians*. I leave you, Sir, and the whole World to judge, whether this Augmentation on the Part of *Great-Britain*, be diſproportionate to thoſe of *France* and *Holland*; or whether it it ought to be concluded from this genuine State of the Facts, that the *Britiſh* Miniſtry were influenced by the Court of *France?* Some Men may magnify the Influence of *France*, and extol the old Cardinal for his refined Politicks; but whatever his Addreſs be, and how great ſoever his Influence may be at ſome other Courts of *Europe*, 'tis demonſtrable, that he never had any injurious Influence at that of *London*. The preſent War between *England* and *Spain*, and thoſe glorious *Reſolutions* in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, on which I congratulated you in the beginning of this Letter, confirm the active Independency of the Miniſters of *England*, beyond all Cavil or Diſpute.

You may wonder, Sir, why I, that am a Foreigner, inveſted with a publick Character to this *State*, from a Mat:r that has not, and never had any immediate Depe.dance on *Great-Britain*, ſhould thus far intereſt myſelf in vindicating her Conduct, and the Independency of her Miniſtry. My Motive ſprings ſolely from my natural Love of univerſal Freedom and Juſtice, and Regard for Mankind. There ſcarce ever was a more critical Juncture than the preſent; all *Europe* is in Motion; in ſuch Motion as portends a general War, and greater Calamities

mities than have been known in the latter Ages. *Germany*, at leaſt part of it, is already in Flames; *Sweden* and *Ruſſia* ſeem at the Eve of their Tranquillity; there is too ſtrong a Probability that *Italy* will be ſoon the Scene of War; and if the *Netherlands* ſhould long remain in Peace, it will be next to a Miracle.

This being the preſent gloomy Aſpect which the Affairs of *Europe* bear, on whom ſhall the Friends of Order, Juſtice, and Peace, build their Hopes for diſſipating the Clouds, and averting the impending Storm? The once powerful Houſe of *Auſtria* is ſcarce able to preſerve itſelf from the oppreſſive Efforts of one that was lately little more than it's Vaſſal. The Houſe of *Bourbon*, indeed, has the *Power*; but the Doubt lies in regard to the *Will*. If there be any Remains of that *Ambition*, which till lately was but too obvious in that powerful Family, it would not be prudent, it would not be altogether ſafe, to truſt the Liberties of *Europe* with a Power that has, and ever will be ſuſpected. The *Cardinal* may be the honeſteſt Man in the World; and may love Peace and Tranquillity more than any of his Predeceſſors; but to ſuppoſe him an honeſt Man, we muſt alſo ſuppoſe him a good *Frenchman*, and a faithful Servant to his Prince. Theſe Points aſſented to, there can ſcarce be any Difficulty of ſuppoſing that he is not ſincerely, whatever his Profeſſions may be, an Enemy either to the preſent Broils of *Germany*, or to Broils more general and calamitous. Without arming; without Expence of either Blood or Treaſure; without any Interruption to the growing Commerce of *France*, matters may be ſo managed, that ſome near-ſighted Powers may be adroitly egged on to forge Chains for themſelves, under a Colour of extending their Dominions. The Court of *Vienna* may have ſuch cajoling Profeſſions made to her, as might

might lull her into a fatal Dependance, at the ſame Time that the Court of *Berlin* may be encouraged by a ſecret Aſſiſtance, or at leaſt by a Promiſe of intimidating thoſe that would willingly aſſiſt againſt her. On the other hand, it may be endeavoured to frighten *Ruſſia* into a fatal *Alliance*, at leaſt a Neutrality with regard to *Germany*, by ſpiriting up and ſupporting the *Swedes* to prepare for an Invaſion. The Games that may be played at *Munich*, *Dreſden*, and *Turin*, are too obvious to require any Explanation. The Death of the Emperor and the Empreſs of *Ruſſia* has thrown ſuch a Game into *certain Hands*, that, without the *Intervention* of *England*, it is morally impoſſible that ſuch a Ballance of Power can be preſerved, as is abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the general Liberties of *Europe*.

But, Sir, we now ſee this glorious *Intervention*, upon which I repeat my Congratulation with the greateſt Sincerity. We ſee the *Britiſh* Miniſtry adviſing, the Thing reſolving, and the Parliament ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, not ſo much in Maintenance of the ſecond Treaty of *Vienna*, which ſtipulates the Guarranty of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, as to maintain the *Liberty*, and to aſcertain the *Repoſe* of *Europe*. The Influence of *Great-Britain*, on this Occaſion, is of far greater Weight and Conſequence to the Queen of *Hungary*, and the other untainted, unprejudiced Powers of *Europe*, than any Support of Men and Money ſhe can beſtow. The Courts of *Pruſſia*, *Saxony*, and *Bavaria*, who may have been too far influenced by a certain great Power, will rather liſten to reaſonable and equitable Overtures, than draw upon themſelves the Reſentment of Powers ſo formidable as the *Maritime* Powers are known to be. Even *France* will be very cautious how ſhe contributes to the cementing ſuch an *Alliance* as ſhe felt the Weight of at the Beginning of the preſent Century. As *France*, without

without unſheathing the Sword, may be ſuppoſed to be able to embroil all *Europe*, ſo, in my poor Opinion, will *Great-Britain* be able to procure and maintain the Peace of *Europe*, without much Expence, or ſpilling any or very little Blood.

But, Sir, this glorious End cannot be atchieved without immenſe Treaſure and Oceans of Blood, unleſs the World be ſatisfy'd, that not only the King, but the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* act *uninfluenced* by any Foreign Power whatever. Reputation is every thing, as well in publick as private Life. It aſcends from the meaneſt Perſon to the greateſt Monarch; but *Miniſters* of all others require it moſt. The Succeſs of a *Miniſter*, in his Foreign Negociations, depends almoſt as much on the Credit he is ſuppoſed to have, and the Figure he makes in his own Country, as on his Addreſs and ſuperior perſonal Abilities. This Maxim is ſo inconteſtably true, that we ſcarce ever heard of a *Miniſter* that had any Influence *abroad*, when it was ſuppoſed he had loſt it at *home*. For this Reaſon I have often wonder'd, that ſome Writers of that Nation had, for a Series of Years, endeavoured not only to vilify the Conduct of their Miniſters, but to aſperſe and abuſe their Characters and Perſons. I can't ſay what the private Views of theſe vilifying Writers were; nor what their Hopes were, ſhould they have ſucceeded againſt the Miniſtry; but I will venture to ſay, that if they had the real Intereſt of their Country at Heart, they went the direct Road to convince all the Foreigners in *Europe* of the contrary. 'Tis happy for *England* that her *Party Diviſions* are ſeen in quite a different Light by the reſt of *Europe*, than I am told they are ſeen by ſome of the very Natives themſelves. You know, Sir, that they are looked upon by us abroad, as ariſing from the Struggles of private leading Men for Power and Preheminence; but if one may believe their Polemick

Polemick Writings, they proceed rather from the Virtue of ſome, and the ill Conduct of others.

He muſt be weak indeed, that does not cover his *Ambition* with the Veil of *Patriotiſm*; but if he would prove himſelf a true Patriot, if he would prove that Ambition has no Share in the Conflict between him and thoſe in the Adminiſtration, he ought never to injure his Country in his Attempts againſt the Miniſtry. A true Patriot, if he cannot convince his Prince of the ill Conduct of his Servants, ſuppoſing them really guilty, he will never ſo depreciate their Conduct, and vilify their Perſons in *publick*, as will ſink the Reputation and Weight of his Country amongſt Foreigners. For Men may ſay what they will, but the Influence and Reputation of a Nation riſe or fall in Proportion to the Eſteem which the Court, that is the Miniſtry, are held in by other Nations. Your Reading and Experience will help you to recollect many Examples to prove this laſt Aſſertion; and I could wiſh that Events, which have happen'd ſince the Death of that great General and conſummate Stateſman, Prince *Eugene*, did not too amply prove, that the greateſt Court in *Germany* had ſunk in Reputation abroad, as her ſurviving Miniſters declined in the Opinion of the wiſeſt at home.

The Caſe in *England* is quite otherwiſe; for however private Intereſt, Pique, or Ambition, or *Patriotiſm*; or whatever elſe People there are fond to call it; I ſay, from whatever Motive the Miniſtry in *England*, have been repreſented by their Opponents at home, as blundering and inconſiſtent, we abroad can never ſuppoſe them ſuch, whilſt we ſee them obſerve a Conduct, which to us ſeems to have produced the happieſt Effects both at home and all over the World.

Whilſt Foreigners ſee the State of Publick Credit ſo ſtable and uniform as it is at this Day, and

has been for twenty Years paſt in that Kingdom, they can never be perſuaded that the Miniſtry of *England* want either Integrity or perſonal Abilities. And for the ſame Reaſon, Foreigners muſt naturally ſuppoſe, as they certainly do, that that Miniſtry poſſeſs, in an eminent Degree, the Hearts and Affections of all their wealthy and intelligent Fellow-Subjects, however they may be ridiculed and traduced by the indigent and undiſcerning. For as the Bulk of Mankind are guided by Intereſt, 'tis beyond Diſpute, that the Intereſt of Money had not been reduced without Clamour in *England*, as we know it has been; nor that Publick Credit, after ſuch Reduction, had remain'd vigorous and permanent: I ſay, 'tis improbable, almoſt impoſſible, that Intereſt of Money ſhould be reduced without Noiſe, and Publick Credit ſtill ſubſiſt unblemiſh'd, unfaded, unleſs the Miniſtry had acquired the entire Confidence of the rich and conſiderate. That they have acquired the Confidence of Foreigners is plainly proved by their riſquing their Fortunes in the *Britiſh* Funds.

There is another Reaſon why Foreigners ſhould imagine that the *Britiſh* Miniſtry do, and ought to poſſeſs the Hearts of their Fellow-Subjects; and that is, that *Liberty* was never more mature or extenſive, than during the preſent Adminiſtration. We Foreigners take this Fact for granted, becauſe we don't find it impugn'd by the Antiminiſterial Writers, who certainly would not fail to point out the Incroachments upon Liberty, if there had been any. But, Sir, do not the *Liberties* which theſe very Writers daily take with the Court and Adminiſtration, prove inconteſtably the Reality of *Britiſh Liberty?*

The moſt general, and indeed the moſt ſpecious Objection that I have obſerved made to that Miniſtry by the Writers againſt them, is, that during their

their Influence, the national Trade, and particularly the *Woollen*, the Staple Manufacture of the Kingdom, have viſibly decreaſed. I don't pretend to be verſed in either the Theory or Practice of Commerce in general, much leſs to be a Judge of the Trade and Manufactures of *England* in particular: But methinks, without any ſuperior Knowledge, one may very eaſily and juſtly account for the Declenſion of the *Engliſh* Trade, ſuppoſing it real, without imputing it to the Adminiſtration.

The Induſtry and Conſtitutional Freedom of the *Engliſh* Nation, and I may ſay, their Situation too, enabled them to monopolize almoſt all the Trade of *Europe*, after the Natives of the *Netherlands* were diſperſed by the Perſecution and bad Conduct of their Governors. The *Dutch* indeed, after they had ſettled the Form of their Government, became Sharers with the *Engliſh* in Commerce; but as the Luxury of Mankind increaſed, there was room enough for both Nations to enlarge their Trade, and augment their Wealth. The *Woollen* Manufacture, which almoſt center'd in *England* after the Misfortunes of the *Netherlands*, gave the *Engliſh* an apparent Advantage over the *Dutch*.

Whilſt *England* was thus in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of the Trade of the World, no wonder that her Inhabitants were fully employed, and became wealthy and powerful. For as Induſtry is the Nurſe of *Trade*, ſo is Trade the Parent of Wealth and Power.

The other Nations of *Europe* ſaw the growing Riches of *England*, and were ſenſible that they accrued from her Induſtry and Trade. But, from continual Wars, and perhaps ill Conduct, they did not, or could not, copy after that thriving Country, till the laſt general Peace of *Europe* at *Utrecht*.

As ſoon as the general Tranquillity permitted, all the Nations of *Europe*, in a greater or leſſer De-

gree, became induſtrious, and applied to Commerce with the utmoſt Care and Aſſiduity. And as the *Woollen* Manufacture was what was ſuppoſed to have acquired *England* her greateſt Power and Wealth, theſe trading Novices applied themſelves more to that Branch than any other; and the rather that it was, and always muſt be, of abſolute Neceſſity; and that the material of which 'tis made (Wool) is to be found in all Countries, and abounds in many as well as in *England*.——Here, Sir, give me leave to repeat what one of the moſt conſiderable Artizans in *Wool*, in this Province, ſaid to me lately on the Subject of *Woollen* Manufactures.

I was recommended to this Artizan by my Banker, as to one that could direct and aid me towards eſtabliſhing a Manufactory for making a certain Species of *Woollen* Stuff, which I intended to promote upon my Eſtate upon the River ——. And that I might know exactly whether or no the *Wool*, which grew in the adjacent Country, was fit to be wrought into the Stuff I propoſed, I brought Samples of it, and laid them before this ingenious Workman, who, after he had heard my Propoſals, and ſaw my Samples, ſaid, "Sir, by theſe Samples it is certain, that the *Wool* of your Country is fit for the Manufacture you propoſe, if you can have it ſpun as it ſhould be; and, Sir, it is not only fit for that Species, but for moſt Manufactures. I have uſed it for many Years, and found it anſwered as well as the *Wool* growing on the *Mozel*, the *Scheld*, the *Maze*, and the *Rhine*, which is very little, if at all, inferior to *Engliſh* Wool." —— The Mention of *Engliſh* Wool, in this Light, raiſed my Curioſity; for till then, I really thought there had been ſome Quality in it, which gave it the Preference of all the *Wool* of *Europe*: And upon communicating my Surprize to him, that he ſhould compare any other

Wool

Wool to the *Engliſh*, he freely told me, that it was cleaner and better made up than the *Wool* of any other Country; but that as to the Nature of it, it was equalled in Length of Staple and Fineneſs by *Wool* of the Growth of many other Countries. "The *Engliſh*, ſaid he, are enamoured with every "Thing that is *Engliſh*; but they are not jealous "of any of their Products ſo much as of their "*Wool*. They fondly imagine, that the World "can't produce any ſuch, and that without it no "fine neat Goods are to be made. But believe "me, Sir, they are egregiouſly miſtaken. I have "now as good *Wool*, of the Growth of many dif-"ferent Countries, as ever grew in *England*, which "does not ſtand me in near the Price which Wool "ſells for in *England*. We have *Engliſh* Wool "imported to us very often, and ſhould have it in "much larger Quantities, in ſpite of all their "Laws, did we give ſuch a Price as would amount "to an Encouragement. But the Truth is, we "don't want it; we find *Wool* much cheaper that "anſwers all Purpoſes full as well: and I doubt "not but the *French* and *Flemings* can, and are "ſupplied in their own Countries, and from *Lor-*"*rain*, *Champaigne*, and *Germany*, as well, and "far cheaper, than they could from *England*. "The *Wool* of *Barbary* and *Poland*, which come "to us exceeding cheap, is capable of all Sorts of "Manufactures; ſo that if the *Engliſh* can find "no way of advancing their Manufactures, but by "keeping their Wool from Foreigners, they will "be ſoon ſenſible of their Error. The *Woollen* "Manufactures of *England* may be declined of late "Years, but ſo is ours here in *Holland*; and that, "not that we want *Wool*, or that we are grown "leſs induſtrious or parſimonious, but becauſe moſt "Nations of late Years, whom the *Engliſh* and we "had formerly cloathed, now cloath themſelves

"with

" with their own *Wool*, by their own Induſtry.
" 'Tis not only, Sir, our Woollen Manufacture
" that we plainly ſee decline, but our *Silk* and
" *Linnen* Manufactures alſo; and from the ſame
" Cauſe. There is not that Demand for either
" that was formerly. *England* took more of our
" *Silk* and *Linnen*, of the fineſt Sort, from us,
" than all *Europe* beſides; but now they fabrick
" all their *Silks* they conſume, and *Ireland* ſupplies
" them with *Linnen*."

I have thus, Sir, collected, as near as I could remember, what this ſkilful Artizan ſaid in regard to the Declenſion of the *Dutch* Woollen Manufactures, and the Nature of *Wool*, to juſtify what I advanced on the Subject of any Declenſion of the Trade or Woollen Manufacture of *England*, which, if real, ought not, however, to be laid to the Charge of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry. We cannot ſuppoſe it in the Power of that, or any other Miniſtry, to prevent the Induſtry and Parſimony of other Nations; nor would it be politick were it practicable. Nations are not to be bullied into Commerce; nor can it thrive but when it is free and unforced. The *Britiſh* Miniſtry, in my Opinion, took the beſt and only Method that could be deviſed, to quicken and retrieve the Trade of their Country; and that was, to keep her ſo in Peace with all the World, as to leave every Channel of Commerce open to her. This they did in the moſt effectual Manner, till the Unfaithfulneſs of *Spain* drove them to the Neceſſity of breaking with that Nation. This deſirable Tranquillity could not have been maintained without conſtant Negociation, much Perplexity, and ſome Expence: But, Sir, did not the enriching Benefits, accruing from that Tranquillity, fully anſwer the Ends of their Pains and Expence? Does not the preſent Impediments of the *Britiſh* Commerce, from the

Breach

Breach with *Spain*, prove the Wiſdom of the Miniſtry in keeping their Country ſo clear of the Wars and Quarrels of *Europe*, as preſerved her hitherto in ample Tranquillity both at home and abroad till the breaking out of the preſent War with *Spain?*

If War be an Enemy to Trade, if it be impoſſible to cheriſh Trade but in Times of Peace and Tranquillity; and if to retrieve a declining Trade, it is abſolutely neceſſary to keep all the Channels of a general Commerce open: I ſay, if theſe are Maxims not to be receded from, how Praiſeworthy are the *Britiſh* Miniſtry for having never vary'd from them as long as the very Intereſt of Trade permitted their adhering to them? We ſaw them, in this Patriot View, endeavouring to bring *Spain* into a Senſe of her Injuſtice by a Forbearance that muſt for ever reflect as much Honour on the Counſels of *Britain*, as it does Diſhonour on thoſe of that infatuated haughty Nation. This prudent Calmneſs in Negociating with *Spain*, whilſt there was any Hopes of procuring Juſtice, has had ſuch an Effect on the Minds of all the Powers of *Europe*, that they as unanimouſly applaud the Conduct of the one, as they condemn that of the other. Nay, *France* herſelf, who is in the ſtricteſt Alliance with *Spain*, has never yet attempted to juſtify her Conduct, either here, at the *Hague*, or, that ever I could learn, at any other Court in *Europe*. And why do we ſee *France* ſo paſſive and ſilent on this Occaſion; but becauſe ſhe could not, with any Grace, inveigh againſt the Conduct of the Court of *London*, or juſtify that of *Madrid*, in Contradiction to the Knowledge of all the World.

The wiſe forbearing Conduct of *Great-Britain* has been attended with this further manifeſt Advantage; that is, that ſhe has negociated *Spain* into an open Avowal of her own Injuſtice and Infractions. This appears plainly by the *Convention*; which

this Reaſon, if there were no other, ought to be look'd upon with a more favourable Eye than it has been by many on that Side of the Water. In regard to that *Preliminary*, I cannot help believing, that an equitable Treaty might have been built upon it; nor do I think that *Spain* had any other Deſign when ſhe firſt entered into it. And from hence, I think it may be concluded, that it was the Diſregard only which *Spain* heard was paid to the Convention in *England*, which firſt inſpired her not to fulfil her Engagements in virtue of it. For from the high Clamour raiſed againſt that Preliminary, and againſt the Miniſtry for having agreed to it, it was natural for *Spain* to ſuppoſe that a Rupture would enſue to appeaſe the popular Outcry, Whether ſhe paid the Sum ſtipulated or not. 'Tis true, *Spain* ought to have made the Trial, tho' ſhe were almoſt ſure to ſacrifice the Sum ſtipulated. Had ſhe wiſely done ſo, ſhe would have thrown the labouring Oar on *Great-Britain*, and intitled herſelf to the Favour of thoſe that now ſee with Unconcernedneſs, that ſhe has neither the Power to ſupport a War, nor Addreſs to keep out of one.

The Conduct of *Great-Britain* in the Proſecution of this War appears to me no leſs wiſe than her calm Negociations to prevent it. Such a Force and no more was ſent to *America*, which was indeed the proper Seat of the War, as being where *Spain* might be eaſieſt and moſt ſenſibly affected; ſuch a Force, I ſay, and no more, was ſent thither, as was ſufficient to convince *Spain* of her own Weakneſs, and the ſuperior Force of her Antagoniſt, did ſhe not make proper Overtures, before *Great-Britain* ſhould exert her Power. This Conduct on the Part of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry was perfectly conſiſtent with the Duty they owed their Country, which muſt ſuffer in her Commerce, by being ſecluded from the Markets of *Spain*, which by this unhappy

Rupture were engroſſed by *France* and *Holland*, the commercial Rivals of *England*. One would wonder at the Inſenſibility of the *Spaniſh* Court, not to have made ſuch healing Overtures after the taking *Porto-Bello* and *Chagre*. The *Dons*, if they had not either been infatuated, or deluded by Promiſes of Succour from a Court, in no Condition to preſerve them againſt the maritime Power of *England*, might have ſeen that they were not puſhed out of Breath purpoſely, that they might ſee their Error, and own it by an equitable Compliance. But *Spaniards* will be *Spaniards* in ſpight of Fate.

As Peace and a free Navigation were all that *England* propoſed by the War, ſhe took the proper Method for attaining them without increaſing her Expence, or continuing the Impediments to her Trade; nor ought ſhe to have altered her Conduct before the Obſtinacy of *Spain* had forced her. For, in reality, it would not have been politick in *England* to make Conqueſts on *Spain* in *America*; nor even to diſtreſs her materially in that Part of the World, unleſs the Publick ſhould ſee, as at preſent they do, that *Spain* herſelf drove her to Extremities. There are many Powers, who might not be diſpleaſed to ſee *Spain* chaſtized, that would look upon *Britiſh* Conqueſts, or even conſiderable Devaſtations, with jealous Eyes. The *Spaniſh* Trade to *America* is become the common Concern of all the Potentates of *Europe*; therefore they would not, they could not, ſit ſtill whilſt it lay at the Mercy of *England* only. Much more might be urged on the Subject; but, from what has been ſaid, I flatter myſelf that the Conduct of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, as well before as ſince the Rupture with *Spain*, appears to have been wiſe and judicious.

The Neutrality of *Great-Britain* during the War between the late Emperor and *France* and her Allies, in conſequence of the Election of *Poland*, has been by ſome imputed as Miſconduct in the *Britiſh* Miniſtry. But except ſome few at the Court of *Vienna*, I don't remember to have heard any one Miniſter of Conſequence arraign the Conduct of *England* on that Occaſion: And you may remember, Sir, that we were both at the Imperial Court during that impolitick War. Whether we view it on the *French* or Imperial Side, I think it truly the moſt impolitick War that has been ſeen in *Europe* in the Memory of Man. It was never diſputed to have been egregiouſly impolitick on the Part of the Emperor; you will the more readily excuſe my Freedom, becauſe you can't forget that you yourſelf were of this Opinion even when it exiſted. But that which I would endeavour to ſhew is, that it was impolitick on the Part of *France*; and methinks the Conſequences ariſing from it to that Crown clearly enough prove that it was begun incautiouſly, not to ſay imprudently.

If we conſider the Millions laviſhed by *France* in *Poland*, on the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*, and the Loſs of her beſt Generals and other Subjects, it can never be ſuppoſed that the Acquiſition of *Lorrain*, a Country ſhe was already as good as Miſtreſs of, can be thought an adequate Recompence. Then, if we examine what a Bargain ſhe made for the younger Branch of her Royal Houſe, we ſhall find it leſs advantageous. *Don Carlos* indeed has the Title of King, but except that Feather, he is certainly no Gainer by loſing *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to get *Naples* and *Sicily*. And as for his *Sardinian* Majeſty, the only, at leaſt the greateſt, Benefit he has got, except *Experience*, is, that *Don Carlos* is moved farther from him.

That

That War, conſidered ſimply in itſelf, was quite indifferent to *England*; therefore I don't ſee why her Miniſters might not be pleaſed, that *France* and *Spain* were exhauſting themſelves in ſupport of a Quarrel that was not likely to produce them any real Advantages. *France* is thought never to have had any Views beyond the *Rhine*, becauſe it would not be her Intereſt, ſo that *England* could have no Dread that ſhe intended to extend her Limits on that Side. And for this Reaſon it was not neceſſary that *England* ſhould declare againſt *France*, till the Theatre of the War ſhould be changed to a Quarter, in the Preſervation of which the Maritime Powers were immediately concerned. Had *France* attacked the Emperor in the *Netherlands*, the Neutrality of *England* and *Holland* would be as inexcuſable, as it was wiſe and laudable, conſidering the Manner in which the War was carried on. But that which amply juſtifies the pacifick Conduct of *England* on that Occaſion is, that the *Dutch* were not to be perſuaded to recede from their early Treaty of Neutrality with *France*. And ſure it would have been highly impolitick for *England* to enter into that War without the Concurrence of *Holland*.

I believe it was never doubted, that the Miſcarriage of King *Staniſlaus* in *Poland* was owing to the early Naval Preparations of *England*, which ſtruck ſuch Terror into the *French*, as prevented their ſending thoſe effectual Succours to the North, which they intended at firſt ſetting out. And here let me obſerve, that the Conduct of *England*, on that critical Occaſion, proves as clearly as any Thing of that Nature can be proved, that the Court of *Great-Britain* was not only uninfluenced by the old Cardinal, but that ſhe acted ſuch a part as became a wiſe and independant People. The

Engliſh Miniſtry acted judiciouſly in adviſing their Prince to arm, that *France* might ſee he was prepared to back his Mediation: Nor was it ever queſtioned, that it was the ſalutary Conduct of *England*, at that Time, which obliged *France*, more than any other Conſideration, to give the Emperor ſuch a Peace as made him more powerful in *Italy* than he was before the War, and not leſs ſo every where elſe. The *Auſtrian* Dominions were untouched every where elſe but in *Italy*, where, in my Opinion, that Houſe became more powerful by the Loſs of *Naples* and *Sicily*. For by the Exchange of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Italy* are become more compact and cloſe, and conſequently much eaſier defended. And as to Revenue, if I am not greatly mis-informed, thoſe of *Tuſcany* alone exceed thoſe of the two *Sicilies*.

The Nature of a mixt Government, ſuch as that of *Great-Britain*, admits more of Noiſe and Oppoſition than other Forms of Government; and therefore the loud Clamour againſt that Miniſtry at Home is not to be wondered at. Perhaps too, the Climate may contribute to the Unſteadineſs ſo obſervable in the Natives there, who are known never to be long pleaſed with their Miniſters. We Foreigners, therefore, ought never to judge of either the Integrity or Capacity of a *Britiſh* Miniſtry, from the Writings or Oppoſition of their own Countrymen. We have a far ſurer way of judging, and that is by their Conduct in regard to *Europe* in general, and their own Country in particular. All Men are beſt known by their Actions; and Miniſters moſt of any, becauſe theirs muſt neceſſarily be publick.

The Conduct of the preſent *Britiſh* Miniſtry, ſince they have been in Truſt, is now no Secret to Foreigners; we are as capable of judging of it, and perhaps

perhaps more ſo, than their own Countrymen. We can perceive it juſt and ſagacious from the Conſequences reſulting from it; and we can trace it unaw'd and uninfluenced by that *Court*, which alone has the Power, and, I am afraid, the *Will*, to diſturb the Repoſe of *Europe*. I was always of this Opinion; and am pleaſed that his *Britannick* Majeſty's late vigorous and glorious Reſolutions, to ſupport the Queen of *Hungary*, are ſuch an undeniable Proof of the Wiſdom of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, and of their Diſregard of either the publick or private Threats of a *Certain Court*, as neceſſarily juſtifies me, and all thoſe unbiaſſed Foreigners that have believed them uninfluenced all along.

'Tis neceſſary for preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*, that a *Britiſh* Miniſtry, as the preſent is, ſhould be uninfluenced; and 'tis likewiſe neceſſary, at all Times, that *Europe* ſhould believe that they are ſo; but at preſent it becomes more abſolutely neceſſary, than at any Time heretofore. The Power of *Great-Britain* is great, but her Influence is greater, particularly in the Midland Parts of the Continent. 'Tis a Happineſs that it is ſo, becauſe ſhe will more eaſily be able to ſet Bounds to the Ambition of ſome, and defeat the dangerous Deſigns of others, without Bloodſhed, or a great Expence. That the Reality of this Influence may be generally believed, I always thought it neceſſary to inforce it in my Converſation wherever I went; and as this was not to be done without Arguments deduced from Facts, I had often Occaſion of conſidering minutely the Conduct of that Court for many Years; and I frankly own to you, upon whom I would not endeavour to impoſe, if it were in my Power, that I ſincerely think the Conduct of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry to have been ſuch as intitle their Country to the great Influence ſhe has, and themſelves

ſelves to that high Eſteem and Reſpect in which they are held all over the Continent. It is time that one ſo fully and uſefully employ'd, as you muſt be at this Critical Juncture, ſhould be releaſed from the tedious Impertinence of an old Acquaintance; therefore conclude with the greateſt Sincerity imaginable,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.